DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 188 777 PS 011 553

AUTHOR Frank, Mary, Ed.
TITLE Children in Contemporary Society. Theme: Moral Education for Young Children.
INSTITUTION Pittsburgh Association for the Education of Young Children, Pa.
PUB DATE Mar 80
NOTE 44p.
AVAILABLE FROM Children in Contemporary Society, P.O. Box 9242, Pittsburgh, PA 15224 ($3.00)
JOURNAL CIT Children in Contemporary Society; v13 n3 Mar 1980

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Books; Child Development; *Children; Childrens Literature; Elementary Education; *Ethical Instruction; *Moral Development; *Moral Issues; *Moral Values
IDENTIFIERS *Kohlberg (Lawrence)

ABSTRACT

This issue of "Children in Contemporary Society" focuses on the theme of moral education for young children and addresses the following topics: the historical background of interest in and conceptualization of moral education; aspects of child development that affect the young child's judgment and conduct on moral issues; the relationship between Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning and socialization; moral issues in children's literature; the role of conflict in moral education; environmental influences on moral development; and moral values versus societal values and the development of conscience. The issue also includes a list of children's books which could be used to foster moral development, and a special school report on the pattern of needs of families and children with handicaps and chronic conditions. (SS)

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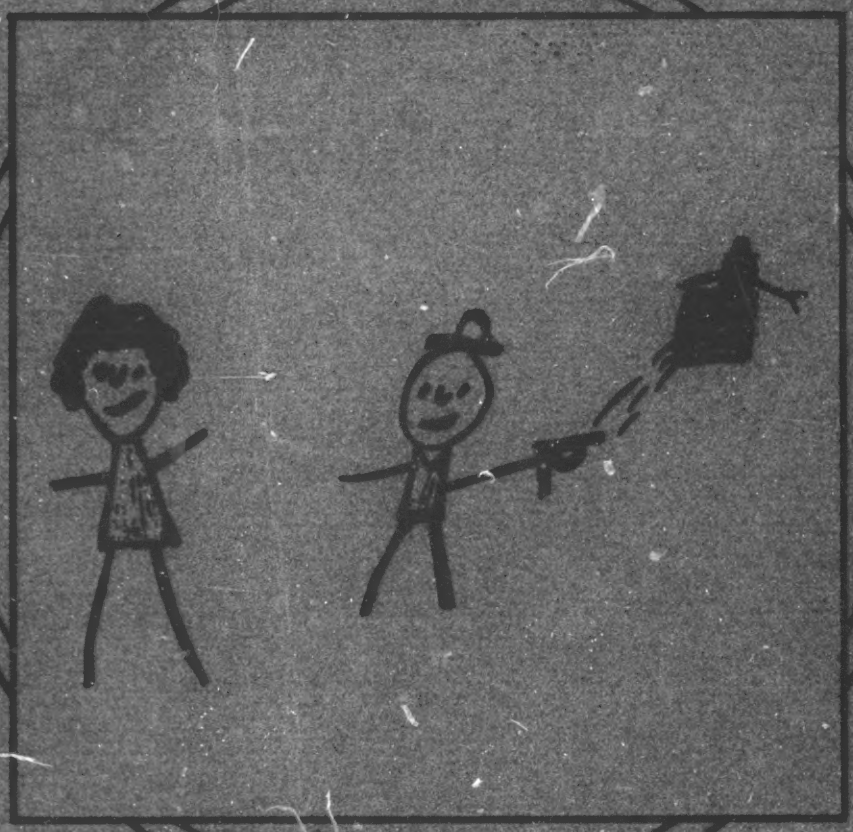
CHILDREN IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY



Theme: Moral Education For Young Children

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COVER DRAWING

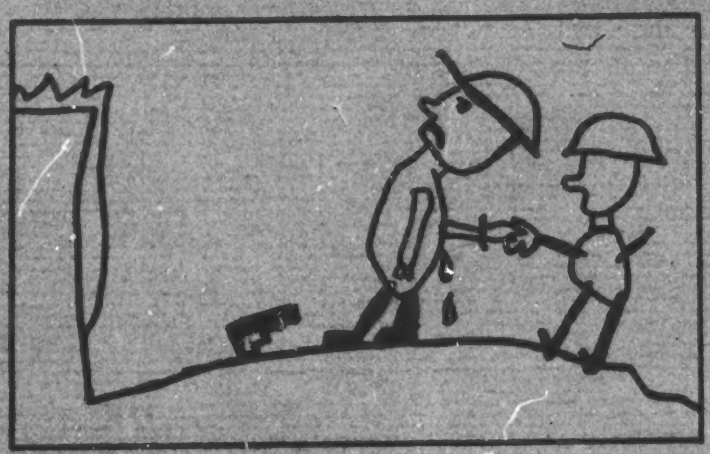
By JUDITH A. RUBIN

The drawing on the cover was done by a nine-year-old boy, in the course of group art therapy. He made it after watching a spy drama enacted by the members, which involved all sorts of morally "wrong" activities. These included stealing, spying, and the event in the picture-a man shooting at a woman. After making it, the boy said to me, "That lady in the picture looks like you!" confirming my sense that it was a representation of his impulse to attack his therapist.

You will note that the man is not, however, aiming the gun at the lady who is clearly shown, but at a shadowy figure at the upper right. The "victim", protected by a non-descriptive barrier, on close examination seems more to be a man with a hat than the woman who he says is his target. All of these disguises come from the boy's discomfort with this impulse, which he knows by nine to be not only "bad", but "wrong" in a moral sense.

Creative modalities like art and drama offer children ways to express forbidden impulses in a manner which permits disguise, born largely of their growing sense of morality. In the drawing below, a six-year-old boy has represented his wish to attack an older man (perhaps his father), in a picture of a small soldier killing a larger one. His sense of wrongness is reflected in the victim not seeking the villain, as well as in the faceless nature of the attacker. Learning to manage unacceptable wishes is part of growing up. Using "safe" avenues of expression for such thoughts makes it possible to become a morally "good" person.

Judith A. Rubin, Ph.D., ATR: Art Therapist, Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center; Assistant Professor of Child Psychiatry, Department of Child Psychiatry and Health Related Professions University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.



March 1980 Volume 13 Number 3

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Children In Contemporary Society

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Children in Contemporary Society is a quarterly interdisciplinary journal for professionals and non-professional devoted to the growth and development of young children in contemporary society.

The policy of this journal is to study various contemporary educational, social, medical, political, and economic issues which directly or indirectly influence the lives of young children. Each publication is organized around a specific issue and includes a collection of interdisciplinary readings which relate to the selected topic.

Manuscripts are welcomed if they have not been previously published. The form and content of a manuscript should follow the form as indicated in the American Psychological Association Publication Manual, 1974 Revision. Send all manuscripts to: Children in Contemporary Society, P.O. Box 9242, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15224

Subscriptions: U.S. $8.00
Canada and other foreign countries, $12.00
Back Issues: $3.00
$4.00 - Canada and other foreign countries
All foreign orders are shipped surface mail.

Subscriptions are also available through membership in the organization.

For information on subscriptions and membership to the Pittsburgh Association for the Education of Young Children (Formerly the Pittsburgh Area Preschool Association); address all correspondence to: Children in Contemporary Society, P.O. Box 9242, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15224.

Selected articles from Volume 8, Numbers 1 - 4 are indexed in ERIC'S monthly abstract journal *RESOURCES IN EDUCATION*, January, 1976. These articles are available in hardback copy and microfiche which may be obtained from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service.

Selected articles from Volume 9, Number 2 are listed in the *EXCEPTIONAL CHILD EDUCATION ABSTRACTS*, Volume 8, Number 2.

Beginning with Volume 11, Number 1, most issues will be listed in ERIC'S monthly abstract journal RESOURCES IN EDUCATION and CEC'S monthly abstract journal *EXCEPTIONAL CHILD EDUCATION RESOURCES*. All articles will be available in microfiche and hardback copy.

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EDPRESS

Moral Education— An Historical Perspective

by M. HARJIE LIKINS

The increasing number of crimes committed by youngsters in their early teens, the number of 6th grade pregnancies, school drop-outs, and a generally lowered moral tone of the society, all contribute to an increasing awareness of the need for moral education. Up to the present time this function has been primarily carried by the religious establishment in conjunction with the home. We are now acutely aware that our society is becoming increasingly secular. As a consequence, the schools are perceived as having an obligation to assume some of the responsibility for the development of character in the young.

The earliest form of moral education, the *transmissive,* has been in effect up to comparatively recent times. Until this century there has been little true empathy with young children. For example, there are over 2,000 references to children listed in the *Complete Concordance to the Bible* but any sense of empathy with them is absent. Far more typical is the injunction tc parents found in Deuteronomy:

> These words which I command thee this day shall be upon thy heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shall talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. (Deut. 6:6-7)

The above passage illustrates the transmissive type of moral education in its purest form. Authority, correct knowledge, and obedience to the code are emphasized. There was no intention that the values in the law be critically examined or questioned. Deuteronmy dates from the 5th century B.C. In the 4th century A.D., John Chrysostom delivered a lecture in Antioch entitled, *An Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children.* The main thrust of the address is directed toward the responsibility of parents for the moral upbringing of children but it includes instruction on how to direct infant boys:

> If good precepts are impressed on the soul while it is yet tender, no man will be able to destroy them when they have set firm... The child is still trembling and fearful and afraid in look and speech and in all else. Make use of the beginning of his life as thou shouldst... Thou dost labor for thyself. (Text translated in Laistner, 1951, page 95)

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The transmissive mode of education was characteristic of the culture of the West until the 19th century when according to de Mause (1974) the *socialization mode* became more prominent. In the 19th century there was less emphasis upon conquering the will of a child "than of training it, guiding it into proper paths, teaching it to conform, socializing it " (de Mause, 1974, p. 52).

Given socializing methodology, the American educational experience has concentrated much less upon the transmissive method of moral instruction. Imbued as we all are with the sense that the discovery of new truth is the major achievement of our century, we urge children to critically examine everything that they are taught. We accept the idea that the discovery of a better way of life is our ultimate moral imperative, and to that end the philosophy of the school encourages children to question, compare, and criticize all criteria of value. As a result of that questioning there arises a skepticism regarding the validity of moral codes and a disregard for the authority which demanded obedience to them.

...The schools are perceived as having an obligation to assume some of the responsibility for the development of character in the young.

Group discussion and "contracting" about rules to create a new class consensus is only one dimension of the child's educational experience. The school creates a socially constructed world for the child. We begin at very early ages to introduce children to an ordering of experience so that they may enter a meaningful world which gives them a sense of reality, order and belonging. When we speak of socialization for young children we usually mean sharing, the ability to take turns and the skills which allow cooperative interaction with others in the group. These things suggest that our educational practice has a moral impact. However, only rarely do teachers focus upon the standard or principle of value implied by such terms. The failure to understand the viability of clarifying such concepts leads us to the use of a hidden curriculum in which obedience to the authority of the institution becomes the moral imperative. This may lead to a "bag of virtues" approach to moral education, an approacch which Hartshorne and May (1928-30) studied empirically. Their research led to the conclusion that such traits as honesty or kindness did not carry over from one area to another. A child might obey the injunction, "never cheat on tests at school", and at the same time might lie about age in order to get into the movies for half price.

Jean Piaget's *The Moral Development of the Child,* published in 1932, stimulated the extensive research of Lawrence Kohlberg at Harvard along the lines of a cognitive-developmental sense of morality. Kohlberg's work has been eagerly received by those working with children because of the universal disillusionment with teaching a particular set of values which are inevitably relativist, and which are selectively applied by the students. For Piaget and Kohlberg, moral development refers to the transformations that occur in a person's form or structures of thought. "The content of values varies from one culture to another; hence the study of values cannot tell us how a person will interact with the social environment " (Kohlberg and Hersh, 1977, p. 53).This understanding comes from an analysis of the development of the structures of moral judgment. *Moral stages* are holistic

structures of moral levels of judgment which are internally consistent. Educators seek to find ways to help children move from lower (ego-centric) organized stages to levels of moral thought that are based upon universal ethical principles.

In this issue of *Children in Contemporary Society* our focus is upon the standards of value implied by the term *moral education* in the light of an examined standard of what is good and right. Secondly, the focus is upon our knowledge of the potential of children in terms of their development which falls into the area of developmental psychology.

Piaget found that the idea of justice was fundamental to the moral development of young children. John Rawls in his major work, *A Theory of Justice,* states that justice is the keystone of all social interaction... "each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society cannot override " (Rawls, 1971, p. 3). Furthermore, Rawls indicates that a society is only well-ordered when this regard for the good of the individual is combined with public agreement about what is just. They are well aware of how quickly young children will claim unfairness if the available candy is not divided equally. Conflicts arise when the rights of the individual result in loss for the group welfare as a whole. As a result, every functioning group, no matter how young its participants, is soon faced with a movement from a cognitive conception of what is right to the practical application of that principle. This moves the focus from the understanding of the idea of justice to its moral application.

How then does understanding of what is right affect moral behavior? This conflict of conception with application shifts the focus from the cognitive to the moral and ideally insures a synthesis of both. In dealing with children one can recognize the cognitive component in moral perception but one needs to explore how this cognitive component, the sense of what is fair, is related to non-cognitive factors. These factors might include those related to a religious feeling and the need to obey an authoritative demand from a transcendent imperative - a God-idea. Whereas, conversely, feelings related to the human condition such as selfishness, ego-strength, and the desire for power might distort moral perception.

When we speak of socialization for young children we usually mean sharing, the ability to take turns and the skills which allow cooperative interaction with others in the group.

Our schools are constrained by their strict separation from religion demanded by our pluralistic society. How then does the teacher deal with the fact that the morality of some children may be rigidly codified through the aegis of parents who are still following the prescription of Deuteronomy and training their children in moral values through authoritative transmission? The problem is compounded because one of the most effective ways of bringing human groups under control is to devise a typical apodictic code such as "thou shalt not lie, cheat, steal, et al; and then ascribe enforcement of those laws to a transcendent power. For example, it is frequently said, "I can't always tell whether you are cheating or lying but God sees you all the time." In this method of moral education God in fact serves as the policeman. For young children this is a very concrete idea and it is consequently perceived literally. The sense that while they may be able to deceive parents and teachers but they cannot deceive God, leads to the

development of *conscience*. Since conscience is the ability to exercise inner control, the development of a social conscience implies that authority is ascribed to the societal group. Therein society becomes the transcendent authority and can be easily substituted for the authority of a transcendent being.

The content of the conscience depends upon the moral prescriptions that are supplied by the parents, the school or the religious establishment. These precepts are usually subsumed under the idea of "goodness" or "being good". The quality of moral behavior depends upon the stage of *moral judgment* which the child has achieved, combined with the motivation for moral behavior. While the school does not teach any notion of transcendent authority as a direct component in the concept of moral value, it does, nevertheless, introduce young children into a major and significant social group. By implication it reveals that this social grouping, the school, is the guardian of order and meaning. It does this both objectively, through its routines and structures, and subjectively, in terms of giving the child a significant place.

...moral education becomes the intentional design of classroom activity, parental behavior and formal religious activity that contribute to moral development, moral judgment and moral behavior of the child.

Moral judgment, that is, an individual's ability to make cognitive distinctions and decisions about the priority of one value in relation to another, is developed in large measure through participation in the school group. In consequence, *moral education* becomes the intentional design of classroom activity, parental behavior and formal religious activity that contribute to the moral development, moral judgment and moral behavior of the child. Any specific behavior will be the result of the child's cognitive stage, his level of moral reasoning, and his psychological ability to implement that decision. If conscience, that is, inner control, has been actualized it will include both the ability to recognize right and wrong and the strength to act in accordance with the perception of the right.

The above distinctions are inter-related and relatively easy to discern. Kohlberg's research implies that "to know the right is to do the right". This is a Platonic conception which is at variance with the Judaeo-Christian tradition. It is an argument as old as that between St. Augustine and Pelagius. Their debate concerned the will, which according to Augustine can as eagerly desire the bad as it can the good:

> ...for prohibition increases the desire of illicit action, if righteousness is not so loved that the desire of sin is conquered by that love. (City of God, p. 214)

Regardless of how one feels about the Augustine-Pelagius debate, most recognize that the child who is to develop a sensitive moral awareness must be captured by a vision of the good. The development of a imaginative capacity that enables the child to grasp this vision needs to be included in the design of moral education.

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Moral Issues In A Pluralistic Society

by SHARON A. NELSON-LeGALL

A central concern in the study of moral development is the socializing interaction between culture and the developing child (Damon, 1978). How does the young child make sense of the behavioral regularities which are demanded of him by society; and how does the culture transmit its values and norms to the child? In other words, how does the young child understand and cope with the multiplicity of demands made upon him for compliance with social and moral rules? To understand the young child's judgment and conduct on moral issues we must consider the developing knowledge, capacities, and motivation of the child, as well as the particular sociocultural context the child is in.

THE DEVELOPING KNOWLEDGE AND CAPACITIES OF THE YOUNG CHILD

Making a judgment and following a course of action in a moral situation calls upon a complex set of skills that are undergoing development in the young child. Making a moral judgment requires understanding of the evaluative concepts (i.e., "good", "bad") to be applied. Also required is an understanding of the motives or goals (e.g., "sharing")--this means the child must have some knowledge of the normative behaviors associated with social actions and situations. A child must also be able to recognize and interpret the interrelationship between actions, motives, goals and outcomes in order to make evaluative judgments (Nelson, in press; Note 1).

For very young children, morality is determined by what adults around them permit and do not permit. Preschoolers are likely to believe that rules are absolute and inflexible, like laws of nature. Limited by an inability to consider more than one view on a situation at a time, young children may assume that everyone holds the same definitions of good and bad. They have difficulty inferring other people's intentions, and they tend to judge an act according to its objective consequences. So young children see an action as bad if it does not conform to a rule, if it is punished, or if it causes damage. (Piaget, 1932)

As children gain maturity and experience, they begin to judge actions on the basis of intentions. They become less concerned with whether their actions will be discovered and punished and more concerned with their own standards. For example, a three-year-old child might regard lying as "bad" because it is punished; a ten-year-old might regard lying as "bad" because the intent is usually

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to deceive. With age and experience it becomes easier for children to consider the intentions of other people, to understand that rules are designed for a specific purpose and to realize that they can be changed according to the needs of the group (Piaget, 1932; Selman, 1976).

CHILDREN'S MOTIVATION AND MORAL ISSUES

People are goal-directed agents who purposefully and consciously guide a great deal of their own behavior. Children, like adults, have a variety of needs, wants and goals. Moral objectives are only a small subset of the goals in a child's life; and even among these there are as many subordinate goals as there are issues of morality.(Damon, 1978)

The child's many goals and purposes are not always in agreement. A classic example is when an adult expects a child to tattle on his peers. Tattling is a moral issue that often poses conflict between maintaining an honorable and trusting relationship with the peer group by conforming to peer norms against tattling-and maintaining an obedient authority-oriented relationship with an adult by conforming to the norm for reporting a misdeed. Tattling (squealing or reporting) does not become a major concern until middle childhood (six to twelve years of age). Prior to that age, as discussed earlier, children rely upon adult authority to define morality and are not as sensitive to pressures from the peer group. When a child is asked to tattle, he is faced with the moral dilemma of trying to be "fair" with respect to his peers, and trying to be "good" or "moral" according to the expectations of adult authority.

Sometimes moral and nonmoral goals are in conflict. Such is the case when, for instance, children are under high parental pressures to succeed. They may face the dilemma of failing to meet parental (or self) expectations for high achievement if they do not cheat, and breaking a moral standard for honesty if they do.

SOCIAL SITUATIONAL INFLUENCES AND MORAL ISSUES.

Children's moral judgment and conduct are influenced not only by their current developmental level and motivation, but by salient features of the immediate situation in which they find themselves. For example, Damon (1977) observed that when children are presented with the basic problem of a "fair" distribution of goods, in trying to be fair they make judgments and act according to the specifics of the situation (the nature and quantity of what is to be given out, who has done what, and extenuating circumstances).

For very young children, morality is determined by what adults around them permit and do not permit.

The larger sociocultural context in which children develop also influences their moral functioning. As pointed out in the introduction to this paper, the culture-child interaction is a central concern in the study of moral development, and traditionally there has been a diversity of views on the nature of this interaction. A socialization concept that emerges as a point of general agreement among these views is the idea of "optimal conflict" (Staub, 1979). This concept suggests that exposure to a moderate level of internal, or environmental contradiction is a source of moral development.

The concept of "optimal incongruity"

gets an elaborate exposition in the writing of Garbarino and Bronfenbrenner (1976). Garbarino and Bronfenbrenner advocate sociocultural pluralism as the setting most likely to favor development of a principled independent morality. In their view:

> Pluralism would apply to various aspects of the socialization process, both within the family-for example, two parents versus one, extended versus nuclear-and to relations between the family and other socializing systems such as peer groups, school, neighborhood, community, world of work, and civic and political organizations. Such pluralism might also be expected to vary within cultures as a function of social class-that is, as a function of socioeconomic factors affecting the individual's exposure to multiple allegiances, to diverse cultural experiences, and to different points of view in education. (Garbarino and Brofenbrenner, 1976, p. 75)

They stress that the differing pulls of multiple social agents, forcing the person to construct his own morality, must be embedded, cognitively and affectively, within an integrated social order-one which is a delicate balance of diversity and consensus. Too much or too little social integration can arrest or reverse the developmental process.

Garbarino and Brofenbrenner advocate sociocultural pluralism as the setting most likely to favor development of a principled independent morality.

Taking a broader view of the sociocultural context we see that our society is pluralistic-a mosaic of racial, ethnic, religious and political subgroups. Sensitivity to pluralism would help us to better understand the moral issues that may face the children in this society. For example, a behavior may be considered deviant in one sociocultural context and prosocial in another. From the viewpoint of the competitive Anglo-American culture, copying from someone else's paper is cheating, but in Mexican-American and other subcultures with noncompetition values and early socialization of the child's responsibility for others, helping someone with a problem would be required altruism. (Whiting and Whiting, 1974)

In sum, if we are to assist our children in becoming functioning members of a pluralistic society, we must consider their developing capacities, motivation and their sociocultural context in determining techniques to foster morality.

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MORALITY VERSUS ISOLATION—

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF KOHLBERG'S HIERARCHY FOR THOSE WHO WORK WITH CHILDREN

by ROBIN CRAWFORD

A friend of mine was recently sharing her experience with profoundly-retarded, multiply-handicapped blind children. Her care for them was obvious as she spoke about "finding the kid in there." Identifying the personality in those damaged bodies is a discipline that seems almost a creative leap of empathy, yet she talked about her kids being manipulative, cute, affectionate, lazy or hard-working. She told of one child whose small repertoire of voluntary actions included regurgitation, and spoke with respect about the physical therapist who had the conviction to hold that child's mouth closed and force it to reswallow the food. That sort of firmness seemed harsh, and yet my friend recognized this child's need for moral development.

Regurgitation hardly seems to be a moral issue, and yet in that child's very limited experience it was one of the few behaviors in which values conflicts could be managed by a child care professional. It is an illustration of the step from premoral behavior to the first of three levels of morality which Lawrence Kohlberg has identified.(Kohlberg and Selman, 1972)

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Kohlberg's Three Levels

Premoral: **Right is what feels good, wrong is what feels painful or creates fear.**

Level I: **Stage One: Right is what authority says is right.**
Stage Two: Right is what elicits reward.

Level II: **Stage Three: Peers establish right and wrong.**
Stage Four: "Law and order" establishes right and wrong.

Level III: **Stage Five: Community welfare dictates right and wrong.**
Stage Six: Right or wrong is a decision of individual conscience based on universal ethical principles.

The premoral level is normally that of the infant, although everyone is capable of returning to this sort of reasoning on occasion. Premoral behavior identifies what is right with behaviors that are pleasant or satisfying. It determines bad or wrong by fear and pain. Premoral behavior is immediate, nonreflective and absolutely self-centered. It is also tiring and frustrating to anyone else in the environment and can lead to isolation and rejection. The regurgitating child, unless it can begin to

incorporate a more advanced morality, will find himself alone and minimally stimulated.

Kohlberg sees Level I of moral decision-making, the first sort of morality to be learned, as more effective self-centeredness than that of the premoral individual. While this level is still characterized by self-interest, it does provide a degree of socialization, and so invites more interaction with others. The self-interest of this morality is conditioned by a growing ability to judge future events; and so potential punishment or reward begin to influence behavior.

Stage One morality, punishment orientation, focuses on obedience to authority. It identifies what is right with what authority says is right. Once this stage is mastered, one can think in terms of future rewards. Stage Two moralists are able to defer immediate gratification for subsequent reward. This is marketplace morality, based on satisfying oneself by using others, and recognizing the necessity of allowing oneself to be used in the process.

Most children will be occupied learning the first level of morality until they are about eight years old. Mastering Level II, conventional morality, is most often the task of the pre-adolescent.

Conventional morality adds a concern for the opinions of others to the now-developed sense of the results of behavior. (Stage One and Two do not see reward and punishment as another's opinion, but as facts to be known. Thus there is real confusion when reward and punishment are intermittent or capricious while these early stages are being learned.) The awareness of others is limited to those in the immediate environment at this age, and particularly one's peers. During the third stage of behavior friends determine what is right. What disappoints them is what is wrong. The fourth stage of morality is called the "law and order" stage by Kohlberg. It involves the broadening of the pressure to conform beyond the expectations of peers to the apparently stable expectations and conventions of the wider community.

Whereas premoral behavior implied isolation both in its actions and as an imposed outcome of its behavior, and isolation was often an element of the punishment/reward response by others during Level I, in Level II isolation becomes an internalized concern, and Level II moral behaviors are grounded in an attempt to avoid isolation.

Kohlberg's Level III morality resolves the

fear of isolation in two stages. This level of morality draws upon principles which have their confirmation beyond the consensus of the group. The discovery of this morality of abstract principle is normally the task of late adolescence.

Fifth stage post-conventional morality is social contract utilitarianism and sixth stage morality is the ethic of our Constitution. Persons who act from this ethic tend to be known as reformers. They temper the potential isolation of their stand, the criticism of law and order morality, by turning the highest principles of the law against its inadequacy to uphold its obligations to the rights of individuals. Kohlberg's sixth stage of morality resolves the fear of isolation completely as a determinant of behavior through identification with the right and dignity of all human life.

In this brief review of Kohlberg's three levels of moral development I have emphasized the issue of isolation in a way that Kohlberg himself does not. In focusing on isolation, the role of the child care professional with regard to the child's moral development is clearly seen.

Recall the physical therapist who managed the crisis over food retention with a low-functioning child. Her task was to penetrate the limited awareness of that child, and in so doing to establish an expectation of unpleasant consequences from voluntary regurgitation. This basic educational goal teaches the child the nature of punishment, and, in challenging the child's self-centered isolation, establishes the child as a moralist of the most basic sort. Only by becoming such a moralist will the child ever escape from real isolation.

Two things need be noted here. First, since Kohlberg theorizes that his stages must be learned in order, those who are with children must avoid the subtle trap of devaluating moral development on such a basic level. Although the concept of punishment seems simple, it must be mastered before any abstract level of morality can be accomplished. In terms of moral development, each stage is the necessary preparation for the next and so, in this sense, all stages are equally important. None are trivial to the budding young moralist.

Second, Kohlberg affirms that the young child, or adult for that matter, discovers each consecutive stage of morality as experience challenges the adequacy of the current stage of functioning. Here the caring adult's role in conflict management may be seen. Too often conflict management means conflict avoidance or simple Stage One appeal to sheer authority. By identifying the stage in which the child currently makes moral decisions, managed conflicts which illustrate the greater adequacy of more advanced stages of moral decision-making may be presented in systematic ways.

For most children, their task as moral thinkers and decision-makers is to master the concepts of punishment and reward, and initiate the associations which will lead to the discovery of peer group morality. Each is a positive step from the self-centered isolation of premoral thinking. It is a process which can be nurtured by adults who have the empathy to identify which stage a child is struggling with, and who hold appropriate expectations of a child's ability to weather managed conflict and, in fact, to grow from it.

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MORAL ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

by SADA M. ANDERSON

> On Morality
>
> ...I like books that contain a profound morality. Not the kind of morality which consists in believing oneself a hero because one has given two cents to a poor man, or which names as characteristics the faults peculiar to one era, or one nation. Not the kind of morality that asks for no deeply felt consent; for no personal effort. I like books that set in action truths worthy of lasting forever and of inspiring....
>
> Paul Hazard

Contemporary children's literature like all art is a reflection of the existing society. We live in an age that has no models; we have forgotten our myths, our ideals, our values. In our culture the mythic hero, the saint, and the mystic have become totally irrelevant. Many children are no longer sure that their parents and teachers can be depended upon to help them make the distinction between right and wrong. But the writers of today's children's books, and one must admire their courage, confront these vital social issues in the books they write for adults as well as for children. The term "Kiddie Lit." has become an anachronism.

The issues reflected in the literature include sex, violence, drugs, divorce, family relationships, women, war, old age, and prejudice, to name a few. The content of contemporary children's books represents a departure from the 19th and early 20th century view of childhood. Hazard (1943) described children as "happy beings, they live in the clouds, playing light-heartedly without a care." (p.4) Imagine Sendak's brash heroes being described in those words!

The critic's reaction to this "new realism" has been mixed. Some have made negative comments about the subject matter, as well as the "poor" literary quality of the work.

Maurice Sendak, the only American to win the coveted Hans Christian Andersen Award for his illustrations, an extremely gifted and popular author/illustrator, was awarded the Caldecott Medal in 1964 for his picture book *Where the Wild Things Are*. Sendak maintains that his books are not written exclusively for children. *Where the Wild Things Are* is an indictment of adults in general and, in this instance, Mickey's Mother in particular for her insensitivity to her son's feelings. The story is a fantasy: Max running through his house in his wolf suit is scolded by his mother in a loud clear

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voice, one assumes, and called "Wild Thing". He is then sent to bed without his supper. The story ends on a positive note, however, and upon his return from the fantasy land of the Wild Things where he had been crowned King of All Wild Things by the monsters, he finds his supper waiting. Wolfenstein (1954) maintains that:

> By showing up the inconsistency and unreasonable demands of his mother's behavior, Mickey reduced *her* to the level of child and fool and elevates himself to the position of adult and superior. Mickey creates a Freudian "humoristic" face-saving situation.

Sendak's dedication to exposing the monsters of childhood is a matter of record. His *In the Night Kitchen* published in 1970 created a furor. It, too, is a dream fantasy. In the dream, Mickey loses his pajamas as he floats into the night kitchen where the bakers, who resemble Laurel and Hardy, are mixing a breakfast cake. Sendak explains:

> Mickey is having a primitive and extra-ordinarily personal experience. Anything between him and that experience would be an intrusion. You expose yourself to experience. To use it in the most vulgar sense, an exposure means taking your clothes off. I didn't do it to shock librarians or to get people all upset. How could a little boy's genitals get people upset? It's mind boggling.
>
> Sendak (1978) continues:
> I have definite ideas about children's feelings. They think about sex. They think about eating. They think about going to the bathroom. They think about dying. In a word, they think about everything we think about--but maybe more obsessively because they don't know the answers to anything. (P. 47)

The central theme in Julia Cunningham's *Burnish Me Bright,* the story of a deaf mute orphan boy, is men's inhumanity to man. At the symbolic level, the picture book *Drummer Hoff* by Edward and Barbara Emerley is an indictment of war "where men go dressed as if they were going to meet their sweethearts". In E.B. White's *Charlotte's Web,* Charlotte the spider spins a web to save Wilbur the pig. The web becomes the symbol of unselfish love spun from within herself. The totally monstrous Nazi regime was revealed in *I Never Saw A Butterfly: Children's Drawings and Poems From Terezin Concentration Camp 1942-1944* where a total of 14,000 children lived prior to their deaths in the ovens at Auschwitz. The poems, written by the children, were found hidden in their barracks at the end of World War II. The book is a tribute to the "courage and optimism" of these youngsters who were under 14 years of age when they were destroyed.

My father was a Methodist minister; he practiced what he preached. Morality for him, and he passed this knowledge on to his children, was the Ten Commandments, the Sermon On the Mount, Paul's Letter to the Corinthians. The lines read:

> Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and I have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal...
> Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.
> Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.
> Love never faileth....

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Moral Education— Bibliography Of Children's Books

byFRAN COHEN

Perhaps for all of us, but especially for young children, "ethic" comes down to how we cope daily with wants, wishes, and woes internally and in our interactions with others. Hence, this book list does not consist of conventional or clear-cut morality stories dealing with "good" and "evil" deeds and/or questions of honesty and dishonesty.

These titles are advanced in the hope that the stories will raise each child's perception of himself and his awareness of his potential impact on others. While confirming that each creature is unique, these books will also help him recognize a kinship with other living things. He is not alone in feeling self-doubt, fear, guilt, loneliness, hate and misfortune. As others have found the means to meet and/or overcome life's challenges, so can he.

It will be the job of the sensitive adult to help the child or children become aware of the moral values to be found in this wide selection of material. In most cases this may be accomplished by encouraging the children to really examine the pictures and by skillful questioning about the text. Such discussions will take on greater depth and meaning when children can be helped to relate them to their own experiences.

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The Role Of Conflict In Moral Education– Two Points Of View

by HERBERT D. SALTZSTEIN

Here I shall try to contrast two different approaches to moral education, especially regarding their aims and the role they assign to conflict in moral development. The aims of moral education may be divided into two very broad categories, helping the child to develop (a) *self-control* and (b) *moral reasoning*. Self-control is necessary so that interpersonal conflicts remain manageable and so that the individual is not overwhelmed by impulsivity, anger, despair, and guilt. Moral rules and principles are necessary to decide what action is right in a complex moral situation. As Hannah Arendt pointed out in her book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963), self-control without moral principles becomes a caricature of morality. Principles without self-control remain a hollow shell. Different theories have focused primarily on one or the other of these tasks.

1. Social learning theory and psychoanalytic theory have emphasized the self-control issue, and the critical factors are thought to be the general parent-child relationship, parent discipline, and examples by parents and peers. Moralization is assisted by: (a) encouraging the child to direct anger inward in the form of guilt; (b) enlisting the child's natural capacity for empathy (Hoffman, 1970); (c) getting the child to feel anxious or anticipate guilt *before* engaging in transgressions (Aronfreed, 1976); and, (d) teaching the child what actions are correct by exposure to *consistent* and *unambiguous* models of appropriate behaviors (e.g., Zimmerman & Rosenthal, 1974). It is assumed that consistency and firmness are highly desirable, that conflicting messages confuse, and that the course of moral development is primarily determined by external factors.[1]

Moral reasoning is believed to develop in stages along with the natural growth of the child's intelligence...

Discipline may serve as one example of research within this tradition. Researchers (e.g., Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967) have generally found that the more coercive, physical, and punitive forms of discipline are associated with *lower* moral indices (guilt,

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[1] It should be noted that, unlike many of his American followers and popularizers, Freud believed that the strength of the superego (primitive conscience) was determined by genetic and other internal factors rather than by the harshness of parental child-rearing.

accepting responsibility, confession, etc.). In contrast, use of explanations and especially pointing out the consequences of one's actions for others (termed *induction*) tends to be used by parents whose children score higher on these moral indices. This finding has to be hedged with two caveats. First, it is unlikely that these techniques will have the same effects at all ages and in all situations. For example, it is difficult to reason with an out-of-control six year old. So the advice to parents has to be, use the most humane, least coercive, most rational, but still firm form of discipline possible, considering the age of the child and the pressure of the situation. The second caution is that no one knows how much of the association between parental discipline and child's morality indicates that the parent has shaped the child's morality and how much, that the child's character has influenced the parent's choice of discipline (Saltzstein, 1976). Despite these complications, it is likely that parent and teacher models of moral control, firmness with restrained aggression, and consistent and clear messages, to some extent, facilitate moral self-control. Schools are given no special role in moral education, though presumably the same emphasis on firmness, consistency, and clarity of message are beneficial here, too.

Consistency and explicit direction, even indoctrination, are clearly useful at certain points in the child's life and in certain situations...

2. The other approach, usually called cognitive-developmental or cognitive-structural theory, focuses on the development of the child's moral reasoning (Piaget, 1965; Kohlberg, 1969). Moral reasoning is believed to develop in stages along with the natural growth of the child's itelligence, and may only be speeded up or slowed down by social factors. The link between intellectual and moral development is the growth of the child's ability to take the perspective or "role" of other persons. A parallel is hypothesized to exist between different levels of perspective-taking and basic moral concepts, such as intentionality, moral reciprocity, interpersonal trust, moral and legal fairness, and justice. For example, for a child to understand why a promise should be kept, the child must be able to grasp the mutuality of perspective-taking. That is, a child must understand that in social relationships each party knows that the other

has a special perspective and that each knows that the other also knows this. It has been hypothesized that a specific kind of perspective-taking is *necessary but not sufficient* for the development of the parallel stage of moral thought. Thus, one may pass the requisite level of perspective-taking and yet fail the parallel moral level, but may *not* pass the moral level and fail the perspective-taking level (Selman, 1976). The hypothesized relationship is largely based on correlational studies, and, we may note in passing that the association between moral development and induction-type discipline (discussed above) may mean that induction "works" because it encourages perspective-taking.

...in the long run, it is the generating of certain kinds of conflict [between perspectives] that is necessary for developing the higher levels of reasoning needed for rationally resolving the myriad of moral dilemmas the individual and society face.

Seen through this cognitive-structural prism, conflict within the home, within the school, and even between parents and school, may provide an opportunity for perspective-taking and therefore for moral growth. As long as the child is not physically or psychologically coerced to resolve the issues prematurely, such social conflicts provide an opportunity to examine moral issues from diverse perspectives. Encouraging this process of role-taking through open discussion may contribute more to the growth of moral reasoning than providing ready-made solutions, models, aphorisms, and the like. Only a very few studies have relied primarily on training in perspective-taking (exclusive of modeling) to facilitate the development of moral reasoning (Gunsberg, 1973; Saltzstein & Handelman, note 1), and its usefulness has yet to be proved though it offers much promise.

Thus, these two psychological approaches have different recommendations to offer regarding the usefulness of conflict. There is no simple, sovereign answer. Consistency and explicit direction, even indoctrination, are clearly useful at certain points in the child's life and in certain situations, as even Kohlberg (1978) now acknowledges. However, in the long run, it is the generating of certain kinds of conflict (between perspectives) that is necessary for developing the higher levels of reasoning needed for rationally resolving the myriad of moral dilemmas the individual and society face.

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BROAD ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES ON THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG CHILDREN

by ROBERT M. LIEBERT
ARTHUR C. HOUTS

Some of the earliest evidence concerning the role of the environment in shaping moral and immoral behavior was presented by two psychologists who shared an interest in religious education. Hartshorne and May (1928) and their colleagues studied some 11,000 children in situations where lying, cheating, and stealing were systematically investigated. Contrary to their intuitions, Hartshorne and his associates found that such behaviors were more a result of experiential and environmental influences than of any personality trait or deficit in the child's moral reasoning ability or psychological makeup.

In recent times, though, public interest in the psychology of moral development has focused mainly on the writings of Lawrence Kohlberg (see, for example, Lickona, 1976). The essential belief underlying Kohlberg's position is that there is an inborn sequence of moral development, programmed by nature, which ultimately leads the most advanced individuals in a society to recognize and respect certain universal moral principles.

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Kohlberg (1976) claims that there are three broad levels of moral development, the preconventional, conventional, and postconventional levels, and that most children under the age of 9 are still at the preconventional level of moral reasoning. What this means, according to Kohlberg, is that young children are not yet capable of "really understanding" moral restrictions and expectations. Moral development, in this view, occurs in its own time.

> **...modeling [that is, the provision of social examples]...exercises the most pervasive influence on the moral development of the young child.**

In contrast to Kohlberg's *structural* approach (so-called because it hypothesizes an emerging set of structures in the child's moral thinking), the *functional* approach to moral development emphasizes the role of childhood social experiences in forming, shaping and ultimately maintaining various moral standards (Liebert, 1979). An important characteristic of functionalism is its scientific, empirical attitude. The functionalist looks for underlying processes and attempts to demonstrate their operation in well-controlled research. Here is a

concrete example of research done from the functionalist perspective. As part of her recent doctoral thesis, Susan Harvey (Harvey & Liebert, 1979) exposed 6-and 7-year-old boys and girls to an adult woman, the model, who responded to a set of hypothetical moral dilemmas in the presence of each child. Some of the children observed the model respond with consistent social responsibility, while others observed her consistently ignore social responsibility (in order to avoid possible risk or harm to herself). A third group of children observed the model advance morally inconsistent decisions, while a fourth and final group of youngsters served as a control and never saw the model. Harvey's results were straightforward and highly informative. Children exposed to a model who consistently avoided harm by shirking responsibility emulated her example in new situations, opting for harm avoidance themselves in the majority of unfamiliar moral dilemmas with which they were faced in a subsequent phase of the experiment. By way of contrast, children exposed to a model who consistently favored assuming responsibility for others rarely opted to avoid harm themselves; like the model to whom they were exposed, these boys and girls expressed a strong tendency to come to the aid of others in need--and did so across a variety of situations.

As revealed in the foregoing example, a functional view looks to the child's environment and experience as the underlying determinant of all aspects of moral development.

THE MORAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE YOUNG CHILD

Although several distinct forces are involved in creating the moral environment ot the young child, recent reviews of the scientific literature on moral development all suggest that it is *modeling* (that is, the provision of social examples) which exercises the most pervasive influence on the moral development of the young child. The unusual power of modeling derives from the fact that it is a type of learning which requires little effort on the part of the learner; no direct actions need be taken and no rewards or punishments need be experienced in order to learn through observation of others. Exposure and appropriate attention to the relevant events appear to be sufficient, and these conditions are, of course, produced with high frequency in daily life. Young children are continuously exposed to social examples of peers, siblings, parents,

relatives, teachers, as well as a myriad of political and entertainment figures who appear on television, in movies, and as characters in newspapers and magazines.

How, though, do the moral examples of others shape the young child's moral development? One way is through simple contact. Exposure to social models provides a means of acquiring information about social expectancies, consequences, and sanctions. Exposure to models can also provide valuable "how-to-do-it" information, making possible the commission of morally desirable and undesirable acts that would otherwise be outside the ken of the observer. There is, for example, a genuine skill involved in knowing how to offer help and aid to others; one can learn this skill, along with the desirability of helping *per se*, by observing appropriate examples either live or in symbolic form (e.g., on television). Information and skills needed to commit morally reprehensible acts can be learned in the same way.

So far we have emphasized the effects of

social examples as if the exposure occurs in a vacuum. Clearly, however, a child may be given reasons for the rules and standards which are practiced and preached by persons in the environment. Many experiments done over the past decade have asked about the role of giving reasons and explanations in the child's moral development. Moral exhortation, or preaching, by itseff, generally has little influence on children's later behavior when they are free to make their own decisions. Likewise, simply providing a child with reasons for adhering to a moral precept is, by itself, a relatively ineffective form of moral instruction. (By way of contrast, the evidence suggests that exposure to consistent social examples can, by itself, exert a significant influence on children's moral development.) More important from a practical point of view, it is abundantly clear that the most effective way of inculcating a sturdy and enduring moral belief system is to present the young child with a combination of 1) consistent social examples, 2) explanations of the moral principles guiding the actions of all appropriate social models, and 3) systematic feedback to the child for both laudable and inappropriate responses.

At the more global level, though, what can be said about the major forces influencing the moral development of young children? The overall implication of recent research seems to us plain enough: The most effective way to foster the moral development of young children is to show them consistently and repeatedly that we, as adults, practice what we preach.

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All art is moral. Writers must continue to write about the agony and the ecstasy of the human spirit.

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Moral Values Versus Societal Values And The Development Of Conscience

by GORDON E. JACKSON

MORAL VALUES vs. SOCIETAL VALUES

The primary presupposition of this article is that all life is processive (Whitehead, 1929).* This means that the child beginning in its intrauterine existence and proceeding through every second of childhood experience is forming and re-forming itself. It receives input from an incredibly rich and varied environment. Moment by moment it is putting itself together out of what it receives. What it makes of itself it passes on to its own on-going life as well as the futures of others. Against this picture of inner reality, appearance is very deceptive. Appearance gives the sense of a static sameness, while reality is dynamic, changing, pulsating, moving. It is as though one were on a river bank looking at a spot in the river unmindful that what *was* that spot has long since flowed on. So that spot is always changing though our eyes might miss the changes.

SOCIAL REALITY AND VALUES

When we look at childhood in its developing character, we need to see change as the very essence of what is going on. Childhood, as is all of life, is social through and through. The child forms itself within a massive social matrix. There are those significant others, e.g., parents, other family, friends, teachers who are both "out there," external to the child, and "in here," internalized within the child. Those "out there" are introjected, becoming what Schafer (1968) calls "primary process presences" (p. 122). These "presences" include people and parts of people, e.g., frowns, words, snatches of color, tenseness, coldness, warmth, cuddling arms, odors, voice timbre, in short, bits and pieces of the world. The child identifies with these myriad presences or introjects. They make up much of its internal world. As the flow of its life continues, more internalization goes on. The child's world is dynamic; growth and change are its hallmarks.

The values of the social matrix come into children's lives as part of this internalization process. Children conform at least somewhat to the social realities all about them, including the values of significant others. What those others are, they are for the children. By bodily gesture and word, by actions, by presence, significant people in the life of children communicate their values to which children will respond in some way. Thus many values--aesthetic, moral, spiritual, intellectual, ehtical, social--get implanted in youngsters. They take these values in their individual ways, with their

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own peculiar slants, so that the transplanted values are not identical reproductions. They are society's values with the creative twist each unique child puts on them. So values get carried from one generation to another.

But how do children put their slants on values? Because all of life is purposeful, that is, every occasion of life aims toward goals which are new possibilities for entertainment, even neonates are reaching for the new. Children--as do the rest of us--lean into the future even as they receive from the past. That is the direction of life. It is the aiming toward something new--an ontological giveness of life--which is the freshener of life. Otherwise, the past would dominate by staleness. New values toward which children are straining help them put new slants on old values. In this way, what could be stale is made fresh by the child's creative touch. So values are constantly in some flux when childhood is healthy; if those values are simply re-enacted, childhood is dominated by inherited values which possess the child rather than being possessed by the child. A child's aiming helps to bring zest to his value-production.

When we try to take account of values, it is important to view reality as processive and so constantly changing, if ever so slightly. Otherwise, we tend to see values fixed in some absolute and rigid ways. Where values are fixed, that is, where the values of society are merely transmitted, children become stuck, which is another name for pathology. That this happens every therapist knows, but it is a tragic violation of ontological structures aiming life toward the zest of freshness.

MORAL FORMATION

The development of moral values is simply one kind of value-formation. An aesthetic value will have to do with Beauty: the formation of harmony out of rich and varied contrasts. A moral value will have to do with the Good: the setting up of an Ideal which is both an aim and a judge when the Ideal is failed. Freud (1962,1965) named the inner agency primarily dealing with childhood moral development, the Superego. It is developed, according to Freud (1962) at the end of the phallic period, roughly 2½ to 5, and includes two aspects: the Ideal and the Conscience (pp. 34,35). While some believe the Superego begins its development earlier than Freud allowed, and others argue that its development continues later than he surmised, probably its burst of formation is pretty much as Freud thought. The child incorporates, along with the parents themselves (and other important people), what they are for and what they are against, their wishes, their prohibitions. These become the core of its ego ideal. When it fails this internalized standard, it feels guilty, which is the punishing effect of the other part of superego, that is conscience.

However, another agency has been functioning long before the primary birthing time of superego, as well as parallel to it, and subsequent to its firm establishment. That agency is Ego.

...childhood morality, while requiring superego morality which is a morality of restraint, would be best served by strong ego development in the slow journeying of childhood.

Ego--thinking, remembering, planning, imagining--starts early in infancy as internal needs bump into the reality outside. Very slowly the child learns to cope, say, with anger (rage!), to get by in its world. Several defenses may come in to play, e.g., repression, reaction-formation, denial, by which the ego "learns" to function as an arbiter between the desires and drives of the inner world and the prohibitions (as well as the affirmations) of the outer world. Hartmann and Loewenstein (1962) make much of the ego's functioning in relation to the Superego, especially if the ego has achieved some maturity and degree of autonomy. The ability of the ego to master inner conflicts and to develop some appropriate understanding of reality-demands help the child to be less intimidated by superego demands and to accept its own inner reality (pp. 32,33).

In morality of childhood, two agencies are at work: superego and ego. The more powerful by far is superego both as Ideal and Conscience. But I am urging that ego, even in its early and fragile formation, can play an important role. Since childhood is processive, constantly experiencing change thanks to its capacity for aiming, and since ego, especially in its structure of imagining and willing, is the internal agency for aiming, it would seem that ***when ego is encouraged by the very society producing superego,*** ego can be a meliorating factor against harsh and rigid superego formation. Put on the grid of Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs the ego, when it finds some satiation of physiological needs, safety, love, and self-esteem needs, may better actualize itself even in its infancy along lines indicated by superego without superego tyranny. Or to follow Erikson's schema (1950), when ego knows well-being as founded in basic trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry, to remain with the four pre-adolescent stages, it should be better equipped to relate to superego without becoming its victim.

Adult morality is ego-morality; that is, it is composed of moral values chosen by adults as they seek to actualize their lives for their own richness as well as that of others. There is a factor of autonomy about it: within the rich milieu of past offerings and future possibilities, the moral adult is constantly at work forming moral values that are part of his integrity and contribute to the integrity of others. The adult is his own *causa sui:* actualizing himself as a moral person. Morality is thus beyond moralism, whether the moralism of a tyrannous Superego or the moralism of imposed outer sanctions.

It would seem, then, that childhood morality, while requiring superego morality which is a morality of restraint, would be best served by strong ego development in the slow journeying of childhood. As the fragile ego is strengthened gradually, even in the midst of superego development, the future of the child would be toward a morality that would be less moralistic and more moral in the adult sense. I am acknowledging that a superego morality dominates childhood, that is, a morality, at least somewhat based on authority and fear of punishment, and what Piaget calls "moral realism" (Nass, 1966).

And I am arguing that early ego strength development might soften the harsh rigidities of superego and open up the "moral capacity" so needed in adolescent morality and adult morality. I am agreeing with Pattison (1973) that it "is ego-strength rather than superego that results in moral behavior" (p. 246). Ego strength is a later realization, but it is in the process of formation from infancy. My argument is that enhancing ego development from earliest childhood helps to generate moral capacity for dealing with superego formation and with superego demands when they operate tyrannously beyond their limits. Childhood beginnings of appropriate ego strength is the primary way to moral adulthood without moralism, for it enhances the moral capacity at the very time that capacity is in danger of becoming incapacitated.

What is required to enable the development of strength of ego which in turn produces moral capacity is rather clear. Pattison (1973) puts the case sharply:

> Reviews of child rearing practices reveal that parental attempts at specific training in "good" habits fail to produce consistent moral behavior; whereas effective nurturance of a child as a significant, lovable individual with the use of firm, kind, consistent discipline does produce "Moral capacity." (P. 246)

We need precisely those kinds of social matrixes--home, school, church and synagogue--which are nurturing of budding ego activity, so that the moral capacity of humans might not be closed in by the evil of moralism. Religion, when it is an engracing activity, should be able to furnish a model of appropriate nurturing, and especially when its Deity is seen as a persuasive Lure instead of as a coercive power. The quality of presence--divine and human--to a child is the richest context I can imagine for the beginnings of ego strength requisite for genuine morality.

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Need And Search For Help Of Families With Children With Handicapping and Chronic Conditions

by ZAGA BLOCKSTEIN
FREDERICK NORTH

This paoer reports a portion of a study entitled, "Services For Children With Handicapping And Chronic Conditions And Their Families", which was supported by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the Health Department of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

A general concern among both parents of atypical children and professionals in the health care fields is the accessibility of needed services and the degree of fit between the specific requirements of the child and family and the services available. Obviously, if the services are unavailable, or if the match between family and agency is not sound, the quality of care, and hence the potential for positive remediation, will be sacrificed. Thus, it is important, for effective service provision to take place, to learn about families' attempts to obtain help for their children with handicapping and chronic conditions. This paper reports one portion of a study conducted at the University of Pittsburgh to determine the pattern of needs of families and children with handicaps and similar problems.

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Six-hundred families were reached in this study and the majority of them have severely and multiply handicapped children. Since all of them were clients of agencies which attempt to provide or arrange comprehensive diagnostic therapeutic and counseling services for families they serve, the responding families were recipients of the best services which the community has to offer. We therefore believe that the problems identified in these relatively severely affected but well-served children can be expected to be evident to an even greater extent in the families of handicapped children that are not served by these agencies. Thus, the needs of these families represent needs which exist for a large number of families in any large community.

METHOD OF STUDY

Eight agencies which served handicapped children and their families agreed to survey the families under their care, using a mailed questionnaire. Each agency mailed the questionnaire to the families which it served and received the returned questionnaire. After information which identified the specific family was removed by the service agency staff, the questionnaires were forwarded to the study staff for coding, tabulation and analysis.

The questionnaire was comprised of 17 closed-ended and 4 open-ended questions. No reminders or second requests were sent to

the parents.

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

Categories of Conditions found:

The special interests and capabilities of the collaborating agencies determine the type of client which they serve and hence, the types of handicapping conditions found in the children of responding families. The categories found are: cerebral palsy, 24%; epilepsy 5%; amputees, 4%; other orthopedic problems, 2%; spina bifida--with or without meningomyclocele, 16%; blindness and other eye problems, 6%; deafness 6%; learning disorder and or emotional problems, 9%; and other unclassified problems, 9%.

HELP NEEDED AND RECEIVED BY FAMILIES:

All 21 questions of our survey dealt with a direct or indirect evaluation of the needs of the families with a handicapped child. Three of these questions were very specific. In one of them parents were asked whether they had needed a specific type of help listed by us, whether they had received it, whether they needed it at present and whether they were receiving it (Table 1 gives the summary of answers to that question). In the other two open-ended questions, parents were given the opportunity to tell us in their own words and according to their own priorities what their difficulties are in caring for their child and providing necessary help.

Table 1
Summary of Types of Help Most Frequently Reported as Needs, Unmet Needs, and Difficult to Obtain

	Past	Present
NEEDS (percent of all families reporting "yes")		
	Learn how to care	Plan child's future
	Get best medical care	Teach self-care
	Reassurance	learn how to care
	Plan child's future	Get best medical care
UNMET NEEDS (needed but not received as percent of all families)		
	Plan child's future	Plan child's future
	Genetic counseling	Genetic counseling
	Paying for care	Paying for care
	Learn how to care	Respite care
DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN (not received as percent of needs)		
	Respite care	Genetic counseling
	Paying for care	Respite care
	Genetic counseling	Paying for care
	Dealing with child's emotions	Plan child's future

Help in planning for the education and future employment of the child was the most frequent current unmet need and the fourth most difficult type of help to obtain. Responses to open-ended questions indicated that parents look to the public schools for this kind of help rather than to service agencies or medical personnel. Frequently, they are frustrated in not finding a satisfactory educational placement for their child and not finding personnel that are adequately informed about the child's handicap and the community's resources. Mothers say that teachers are not "tolerant", they "lack concern", and there is a "general apathy" among the teaching staff.

Parents of children with learning disabilities are especially frustrated in their attempts to find adequate educational placements for their child. Criticisms directed at schools, teachers and intermediate units were by far the most frequent responses to open-ended questions asking parents how services for their children could be improved.

Help in understanding whether the condition was hereditary and how it might affect future children was reported as needed by less than one-half of the parents, but those who need it had great difficulty obtaining it. Genetic counseling was the second most frequent unmet need (23%) and the least likely of all needs to be met (22%).

Help in paying for medical and hospital care, special education or training, and other costs of caring for the condition was needed by about one-third of the families, and about one-third of those who needed such help did not receive it. It appears to be somewhat easier to get help in paying for medical and educational services than for other costs such as transportation and respite care. As one family member put it:

> Even though the state pays the tuition for pre-school, they will not provide or pay for transportation. So adequate schooling is provided without the means to get the child to the program.

Help in getting babysitting, day care, or over-night care for the child was needed by only about one-fifth of the families. But less than half of those who needed it were able to obtain it.

Help in teaching the child how to care for himself or herself is the second most frequently reported current need and a frequently reported past need. Eighty percent of families who need this kind of help are able to obtain it; only seven percent have an unmet need. Apparently, the community is able to provide this type of help for most families that need it. This is also true for two other frequently mentioned needs, help in learning to care for the child's problem, and help in getting the best possible medical or surgical care. The generally satisfactory responses to these questions, however, mask a great deal of dissatisfaction and frustration which parents have suffered in the past, before they came under the care of the collaborating service agencies. Many parents

reported difficulty in getting physicians to recognize that there was something wrong with their child--to take the parent's complaints and observations seriously. A few of the typical complaints are listed below:

> I feel that if my son would have received the proper diagnosis he would have been spared the emotional difficulties he has experienced.
>
> It took me almost three years to find a doctor who knew about children like Valerie. I had to look up her symptoms in the medical book myself.
>
> I did not find out that my daughter had cerebral palsy from her pediatrician. The man who sold her shoes saw that the shoes were worn down the wrong way and said to take her to a specialist.

Parents often complained that physicians' judgments in the area of behavioral or learning disorders is so poor that they do not even suspect the "possibility of a learning disability" and "do not associate behavior problems with a learning disability problem." In the majority of cases, mothers say: "The pediatrician did not recognize any developmental abnormalities."

A large number of mothers felt that they were deprived at the onset and during the illness of some basic facts regarding the disease. They suggest that physicians do not take time to explain the child's difficulty, the cause of the illness, if known, limitations associated with the problem, or future complications and prognosis. Explanation is not formulated in simple language, and time given to the parent and child is "minimal." "You feel like you are on an assembly line," said one mother. The typical complaint is "Doctors should take more time to talk to parents, make the parents understand what is going on. When they start talking medical words, there are not too many parents that understand what they are talking about."

Once a problem was recognized, the parents still had trouble finding suitable medical services for their children some parents said:

> The greatest difficulty for me was finding a doctor who would make a diagnosis and, after diagnosis, finding a program for her.
>
> Placing the child in an appropriate program for his special needs.
>
> Searching for someone to listen to me.
>
> Trying to decide which direction is best for our child and whom to listen to when we get conflicting diagnoses.
>
> Many doctors do not want to care for a handicapped child. It is often difficult to find doctors to take care of your child's particular needs.

Parents also complained that the physicians are not aware of or acquainted with the programs and services available to and of benefit to the disabled child. Forms of complaint vary, but the message is the same:

> It would be very helpful if pediatricians were more aware of the schools and special help available to parents of children with problems. They seem to know very little in this area.
>
> I believe that many doctors are not aware of the services that are available. If I had been informed in time, I could have avoided many mistakes that were made in my caring for Beth. She has already formed many habits that are still with her.

Even when they found what appeared to be satisfactory help, they frequently did not obtain all the information they thought they needed to cope successfully with their child's problems.

Feeling strongly motivated to facilitate the handicapped child's adjustment and development, the mother wants to be told how she should cope with some of the problem that handicaps bring. The mother would like to know how to "take care" of the child on a day-to-day basis. One mother complains that professional people "are always quick to tell you what you have done wrong, but seldom have any suggestions about what and how (things) should be done."

A further difficulty is the reported lack of coordination between the various specialist physicians who may care for a single child. This difficulty is magnified when care is received from a clinic:

> Physicians do not work together, leaving it up to the parent to tie it all together.
>
> Have the child see the same doctor each time. The doctor should be in contact with the physical therapist.
>
> There has been no cooperation or coordination of care.

CONCLUSION

A large proportion of the families reached encounter delays and difficulties in obtaining services perceived by the parents to be needed for the care of the child. A few specific types of help - genetic counseling, respite care, and satisfactory educational planning and placement--have been particularly difficult to obtain. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction and frustration which parents suffer as a result of "not knowing where to go for help."

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James, a 13-year-old boy in individual art therapy, was a very shy, well-behaved youngster, quite inhibited in many areas of functioning. In the course of treatment he created a character called "the pencil snatcher," who represented in a safe way his own impulses to steal, which his strong sense of morality would not allow him to actualize in reality.

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